777 Other medicines for good luck are used for successful buying (two), speaking and singing well (about a dozen), faultless drumming (two), wrestling (29), the Jaunde game of chance (eight), and to make edible plants flourish (nine, see Section 5 /Ed., Vol. I/).

The second class of medicines discussed in this part consists of those used to ward off misfortune. In this category the most important are the medicines against theft (approximately 30), against adultery committed by the women (two), against the shrewishness of wives (one), against rivals among women (three), against forgetfulness and stage fright (three), against rain (only a few, see Section 14), against enemy weapons, against the consequences of cohabiting during the day (seven), of sleeping with pregnant women (for the last two cases there are even prophylactic medicines), and finally, against consequences that occur if one eats unclean animals (seven).

3. Medicines against Cult Maladies

754 In the description of the cults /Ed., not translated/ it was shown that transgressions of mores resulted in punishments in the form of illness. These cult maladies are real illnesses of the body, but they can be cured only by the power whose anger has caused them. For that reason, they could also have been mentioned in the description of the cults. Every cult power is able to impose a malady, so someone can be Sso sick (Ndong-mba sick), Bokung (Elong sick), Schok sick and Ngi sick; we have already become acquainted with Malan sufferers. Since in the south Ngi is the most common and most feared cult power, the most frequent and most serious cult malady there comes from him.

755 I saw two cult maladies treated. One case involved a boy who pretended to have Bokung sickness because he did not want to work any more; the second case involved a man who had been shot in the chest during the war and claimed that he had been punished this way by Ngi.

Bokung sickness is supposed to be recognizable by the trembling

755 of the head and hands. In the case in question the good Schona, the name of the boy, feigned these symptoms very well. The Bokung man was summoned, and /168/ drums were set up in front of the sick man's house; the Bokung man disappeared for a moment in the bushes and then reappeared as a chimpanzee (see the Bokung cult, page 65 /Ed., not translated/), amidst the screaming of reed pipes, and performed the ape dance while his assistant prepared the medicines that the sick person was to drink. Then the patient had placed around his neck a raffia pith rope that had been dipped in medicinal red wood (so he would feel as light as raffia pith is light). A line was drawn around about his body with the same color, and the medicine man then uttered the following incantation through the reed pipe:

755 a źōna, a žōna, a pfulan a bŏnenga
539 O Schona, O Schona, he together (ate) with women

kăbăd a ke adăn kŭ ojō'b, a bĕlĕ
goat, he goes to step over turtle over, he is possessed

ete, bokūn a bĕlĕ nie,
by it, Bokung he has him (made possessed)

nkaku malĕń a nim ebĕ
? oil palms?, make straight (like) stick (of the)

dzăń, myū yū, ma nyŏń nkă ă,
raffia, dog he dies, I take dorsal vertebra,

a kăb, a nim, osū nkíĕ ī'
take away, make straight, (into the) water down

wō, nyŭ adăń, nyŭ a vŏ'.
(onomatopoetic) skin unsurpassable, skin it easily.

This song -- like many purification songs -- is evidently very ancient and in part no longer understood. Through its agency the

sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: ngí a bélé nié, that is, Ngi has him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: Leea guineensis Don (afŏbesŏn), Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏn), Trema guineense (Schum.) Engl., Vernonia conferta Bth., Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma, and Heckeria.

The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abŭm, a kū'e abŭm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tŭm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edŭm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźă,b, kernel = ngŏ,ṅ-ebŏn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaġa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaġa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
824 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and
158 take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red antelope, nkoġ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

784 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, 852 before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli 754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths [786 839] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in 788 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my informants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. [825] If such a place is discovered, a nnengan is immediately called in to [755] perform a sort of exorcism.

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

● 755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

755 goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used, among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

764 If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

765 The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is removed, 30 days after death.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else is allowed to see it. 832

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatong*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed. 837 755 695

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back. 837 795

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man 584 832 583